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Sweeps a wide circle and descends more near,
With a prolong'd and simultaneous cry,
Gives notice to the myriads who respond
With deafening clamor warping on the air,
Rise higher and hold on their safer course."

Those who feel that the quotations do not justify the praise given to the book, will yet, it is to be most earnestly hoped, read the whole poem, when they will see how unsatisfactory are fragments, how inarticulate is even the warmest praise.

We cannot conclude without expressing real reverence, which will be shared by all lovers of poetry who will look at this volume, for the author who at last receives the glory earned half a century ago. It is impossible to give up the hope that during this time his pen has not been wholly idle, and that we may yet have more delight of this sort. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Swinburne for what he has done in rescuing this masterpiece from its undeserved oblivion.

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8. — *The Life of James W. Grimes, Governor of Iowa, 1854–1858; a Senator of the United States, 1859–1869.* By WILLIAM SALTER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

SENATOR GRIMES owes his national reputation chiefly to that act of his life which exposed him to the bitterest criticism by political friends, and which closed his political career. "Foremost," in the words of his biographer, "in discerning the peril that threatened the land in the impeachment of President Johnson, the nation owes its escape and safety at that crisis to him more than to any other one man." No one who takes this view of Mr. Grimes's action can be without interest in the record of his life and opinions, which is contained in Mr. Salter's volume.

This record is, for the most part, left to speak for itself, the biographer adding to the correspondence and speeches little more than necessary words of connection or of explanation, and sparing us anecdotes of childhood and fulsome eulogies. In giving, not opinions ready made, but the materials out of which to form our own opinions, and in retaining among those materials judgments that time has not justified, or that many will disagree with, and expressions that spring from the less admirable traits of character, Mr. Salter has done exactly what would have pleased Mr. Grimes, who despised twaddle, and liked to be rated at his exact value. Sometimes, in his anxiety to make the record complete, the biographer has inserted

speeches on comparatively unimportant matters, or has repeated ideas already sufficiently expressed; and sometimes he has failed to explain obscure references: but, on the whole, the work is satisfactorily done.

Mr. Grimes belonged to a class of public men, happily not yet extinct, but peculiar to the earlier days of the Republic rather than to ours. Gifted with no extraordinary intellectual powers, armed with few of a scholar's weapons, with little taste for the ornamental part of life, he was pre-eminently a man of character. His courage, his integrity, were without a flaw; his good sense was rarely at fault; his energy was only limited by his physical endurance. He scorned those who truckled to power or to party, who gave or accepted bribes of any kind, who could be shaken from a purpose by any winds of doctrine. He prized action above speech, speech straight to the point above speech rhetorical, and speech to the audience nominally addressed above speech to the galleries or the newspapers. He had no patience with declamation or sentiment, with tortuous policy like that of Mr. Seward, with long delays like those of Mr. Lincoln, with sounding manifestoes like those of Mr. Stanton. Mr. Chase, who had been his leader in early life, — so far as he had a leader, — fell from his esteem, never to recover it, the instant he was tried at a critical moment and found wanting. With Mr. Fessenden, on the other hand, his friendship, as manly and tender as any in political history, strengthened with his strength, because in him — despite marked differences of temperament — he found a kindred spirit. They stood side by side during the dark days of the war, and during the dark days of the impeachment of President Johnson; they foresaw the still darker days that have since come upon us; and they were alike fortunate in dying when they did. Their last letters to each other are characteristic.

[MR. FESSENDEN TO MR GRIMES.]

“PORTLAND, August 8, 1869.

“I shall be a candidate; for duty to myself and the State requires it of me. If money is to be used, be it so. It will not be used by or for me. I will have no hand in corrupting legislative morals. If elected at all, it must be on my merits, and because the people so decree. For corrupt and corrupting honors, I have no desire. My hands are clean thus far, and I mean to keep them so. Any but an honest and high-minded people I have no desire to serve.”

[MR. GRIMES TO MR. FESSENDEN.]

“AIX-LES-BAINS, SAVOY, August 31, 1869.

“Perhaps you have observed that I have resigned my place in the Senate. The truth is, the place has become irksome to me. There are so many men

there with whom I have not and never can have a particle of sympathy, so much corruption in the party with which I would be compelled to act, so much venality and meanness all around, that, aside from my ill-health, I had about made up my mind that the Senate was no longer the place for me. . . . I regret to leave on your account, and on Trumbull's. I have just counted the Senators over, and find that I leave seven men there who were members when I entered the body.

"But if you are going to be as virtuous as you say you will be, you will not be re-elected to the Senate. Why, the war has corrupted everybody and everything in the United States. Just look at the senatorial elections of the last winter! They were all corrupt. It is money that achieves success in such affairs nowadays. Thank God, my political career ended with the beginning of this corrupt political era!"

Mr. Grimes was born in New Hampshire in 1816, and educated at Dartmouth. In his twentieth year, he built himself a lawyer's office at Burlington, then included in "The Black Hawk Purchase"; and Burlington was his home until he died. The population of what is now the State of Iowa was, in 1836, 10,531; in 1870 it was 1,188,207. "Here," writes the young man within six months of his arrival, "is a fine field for any one who has industry, prudence, and economy, or a speculating turn. — is better fitted for the Eastern country than the Western. He is, if I mistake not, wanting in an essential requisite, energy of character. One must be a driving, bustling person to take well in this country, and must look out for himself, putting not much dependence on any one."

Mr. Grimes, having in large measure that energy which he calls the essential requisite to success, got on fast in his profession, and also in politics. He was appointed city solicitor before he was twenty-one; the next year he served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the first legislative assembly of the Territory of Iowa; in 1840, he stumped the Territory for General Harrison, and would have been sent to Congress, had he been old enough. "I could have had a unanimous nomination," he writes to his father, "if I had seen fit to accept it. Indeed, it was pressed upon me, and I was obliged to come out and tell them that I lacked a year of being eligible."

During the ensuing thirteen years Mr. Grimes gave much of his time in and out of the Legislature to the promotion of the interests of his adopted Territory and State, — advocating the construction of plank-roads and railroads, presiding over educational conventions, assisting in the establishment of charitable institutions, delivering addresses on temperance and horticulture, editing an agricultural paper, making his energies felt in every direction.

In 1854 Mr. Grimes was nominated for governor of the State by

the Whigs, and was supported by the Free-Soil party. In his letter accepting the nomination, he struck the keynote of the campaign. "With the blessing of God," he says, "I will *war, and war continually* against the abandonment to slavery of a single foot of soil now consecrated to freedom. Whether elected or defeated, — whether in office or out of office, — the Nebraska outrage shall receive no 'aid or comfort' from me."

Up to this time, the political record of the State was all the other way. "Iowa," said one of her senators in this same year, "is the only free State which never for a moment gave way to the Wilmot Proviso." Alexander H. Stephens had declared that in fifteen years Iowa would be a slave State; and Senator Butler of South Carolina had proclaimed the superior value to her of a laboring population of slaves over one of Germans and Irish. She was bounded on the south by Missouri; and if another slave State were to be established on the west, she would be in imminent danger of fulfilling Stephens's prophecy, especially as her population on the line of the Missouri had strong sympathies with their slaveholding neighbors. In short, the Kansas-Nebraska question was, so far as Iowa was concerned, a question of life or death.

"This battle I fought," writes Mr. Grimes after the election, "nearly alone. My colleagues on the Congressional ticket were dead-weights; one of my colleagues on the State ticket declined, because I was too much of a Free-Soiler; and I had 'The Burlington Hawkeye,' a professedly Whig paper, and the whole *silver-gray* interest against me."

"When I came here," he writes from Glenwood during the canvass, "I found that the population is entirely Southern. My friends were tender-footed, and did not wish me to denounce the Nebraska infamy. I did not tell them what I would do, but when we met in the courthouse, I told them that the principles I maintained on the Mississippi River I should maintain and express just as boldly on the Missouri River. I then discussed the subject an hour, and pleased both my friends and enemies. They all saw that my principles did not change with a change of latitude, and they applauded me to the skies."

As usual, "that other wisdom whose name is courage" was triumphant. Mr. Grimes carried the State by nearly 2,500 majority in a total vote of 43,594, and the "tender-footed" county by 22 majority in a total of 332. "Your election," writes Salmon P. Chase, two years afterwards, "was the morning-star. The sun has risen now."

In his inaugural message Governor Grimes laid down the principle that "it is only by an entire disconnection of the General Government from the institution of slavery, that the people of the free States can

find safety and honor." "It does me good," writes Mr. Chase, "to think that a New Hampshire boy, and a governor of a Western State, will have the honor of being the first to lay down the great principle on which the slavery question must be finally settled, if peacefully settled at all." "This issue," writes Mr. J. R. Giddings, "cannot be withstood in any free State; it will overwhelm all opponents in every free State."

Governor Grimes's administration of the State affairs was marked by his characteristic energy and public spirit. To all the measures, educational, charitable, or reformatory, which he had advocated as a private citizen, he lent the aid of the Executive. The public schools, the hospitals for the insane, the railroads, the cause of temperance, felt his influence. Whenever he could speak or act for freedom, he did so with judicious courage. If, in a word, the record of Iowa, whether in war or in peace, will bear a favorable comparison with the record of any of her sister States, to Mr. Grimes as much, at least, as to any other one man the merit is due; for no one did more to lay the foundations of the rising Commonwealth upon a solid basis.

At the expiration of his four years' term of service as governor he was elected to the Senate of the United States, taking his seat March 4, 1859, and occupying it for ten eventful years. He was emphatically a useful Senator. His practical sagacity and untiring energy expedited the public business, both in the committee-rooms and in the Senate Chamber. He made few set speeches; but he often took part in debate, and rendered essential service in assisting to perfect the details of many measures. His face was set resolutely against all forms of political dishonesty, from subsidies to private bills; and no lobbyist ever spoke to him twice.

As chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, he reformed many abuses, both those that had been part and parcel of "the peculiar institution," and those that some unfortunate appointees of President Lincoln had created or confirmed. His exposure of Marshal Lamon's management of the jail, and his successful contest with the Executive in that matter, would have made another man's reputation as a philanthropist. Not content with destroying the relics of barbarism, he initiated various measures looking to the transformation of the District into a free and civilized community.

As chairman of the Naval Committee, he rendered still more important services to the country. By daily conferences with Assistant-Secretary Fox, by frequent communication with the heads of bureaus and the principal commanding officers, he acquired knowledge rarely possessed by a landsman, familiarized himself with all that was going

on or that was projected by the navy during the war, and was enabled to repel unjust attacks upon it, and to make the Senate and the country understand and appreciate its great services.

In the conduct of the war Mr. Grimes was not content to make haste slowly. He early proclaimed himself in favor of a conscription, of confiscation, of emancipation. He was indignant with President Lincoln for annulling Fremont's proclamation in 1861, and generally "disgusted with the course of the Administration" that year. In April, 1862, he denounced the surrender of slaves by our generals, and demanded the enlistment of colored troops. "It is nonsense," he writes, July 29, 1862, "to attempt to frighten the masses by the story that rigorous measures will 'nail up the door against reconciliation of contending sections.' We have too much at stake, the Government is of too much value, too much of the best blood of the nation is calling to us for vindication, to justify us in neglecting any methods to put the rebellion down known to civilized warfare."

Mr. Grimes's temperament did not fit him to sympathize with the prudent and far-seeing policy of President Lincoln, or with the cunning diplomacy of Secretary Seward; but, on the other hand, his strong sense prevented him from adopting the wild suggestions of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, — appointed though it was, as he must often have regretted, on his motion, — or from sharing the morbid dreams of the authors of the Freedmen's Bureau.

To the Presidency of Andrew Johnson Mr. Grimes looked with forebodings. "He is loyal enough," he writes the day after Mr. Lincoln's assassination, "but he is a man of low instincts, vindictive, violent, and of bad habits." These apprehensions were soon justified; but from the first Mr. Grimes looked with disfavor upon the remedy of impeachment. He writes to his wife: —

"WASHINGTON, March 12, 1867.

"The impeachment project is subsiding; it being the almost universal opinion that, while the President has been guilty of many great follies and wickednesses, he has not been guilty of those overt, flagrant, corrupt acts that constitute 'high crimes and misdemeanors,' and make an impeachable offence; and that it is not worth while to establish an example which might result in making ours a sort of South American republic, where the ruler is deposed the moment the popular sentiment sets against him. We have very successfully and thoroughly tied his hands, and, if we had not, we had better submit to two years of misrule, which is a very short space in the lifetime of a nation, than subject the country, its institutions, and its credit, to the shock of an impeachment. I have always thought so, and everybody is now apparently coming to my opinion."

Mr. Grimes held the same views and expressed them with the same freedom, when, a year later, the party then dominant in Congress resolved to impeach Mr. Johnson. He thought the construction of the law which the President was accused of having violated to be at least open to question; and he failed to find evidence of that criminal intent on the part of the accused which would justify conviction. He believed that the nominal accusation was, with some of those that made it, little more than a pretext for getting rid of an unpopular President, and with others a means of foisting themselves into power for the residue of his term, and, as was hoped, for the term to succeed as well. He believed that both the immediate and the remote consequences of conviction would be far more dangerous than anything to be apprehended from the continuance of Mr. Johnson in office for a few more months.

Entertaining these opinions, believing that in his judicial capacity he had no right to convict, and that in his legislative capacity he would, in voting for conviction, support a measure in the highest degree inexpedient, he could not have acted otherwise than he did. It was possible for other senators, who privately agreed with his views, to oppose them publicly for personal or party reasons. Some had hopes, others fears, that controlled their action. It is not every man that can stand four-square against all the winds that blow.

By the winds that blew in Washington during the three months of the trial, a man of ordinary courage might easily have been daunted. No one who was not there, no one who has not practically engaged in politics, can understand how much the three men whose "not guilty" saved the nation from a great peril had to resist. To stand up against an opposing party, however violent its attacks, is comparatively easy: but to be made to feel that you are considered a traitor, both to your political friends — those who have held up your hands in the hour of trial, and to whom your success is largely owing — and to the principles you were elected to serve; to be called a lost leader, who

"alone breaks from the van and the freemen";

to receive by every mail scores of newspapers, which have hitherto supported you, but are now your bitterest assailants, and scores of letters from people whose good opinion you value, full of the strongest expressions of hope that you will do their right, not yours, or from people whose influence upon your future is powerful, full of threats that they will destroy it; to meet scarcely a man who does not advise you to act contrary to your own judgment; to be con-

stantly in contact with those with whom you have fought side by side many political battles, but with whom you are no longer in sympathy; to feel, in a word, all the currents of public opinion which have thus far helped you on in your career now setting against you,—such things as these it requires unusual courage to meet. Such a trial Mr. Webster passed through after his 7th of March speech; and such a test was successfully endured by Mr. Grimes, though not without a great strain on his powers of endurance, as was evinced by the stroke of paralysis by which he was prostrated two days after he delivered his opinion that the President had not been guilty of an impeachable offence. Eighteen months afterwards he writes from Glion, Switzerland:—

“Sitting here calmly, and reviewing my whole course, I have no hesitation in saying that I regard that act for which I have been most condemned, my vote on the impeachment trial, as the most worthy, the proudest act of my life. I shall ever thank God that in that hour of terrible trial, when many privately confessed that they sacrificed their judgments and their consciences at the behests of party newspapers and party hate, I had the courage to be true to my oath and my conscience, and refused, when I had sworn to ‘do a man impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws,’ to do execution upon him according to the dictation of the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, or the howlings of a partisan mob. I would not to-day exchange the recollection of that grasp of the hand and that glorified smile given me by that purest and ablest of men I ever knew, Mr. Fessenden, when I was borne into the Senate Chamber on the arms of four men to cast my vote, for the highest distinction of life. Yet we had no desire to save Johnson as Johnson; I wanted to save my own self-respect and my oath, and I wanted to save the country from the wild, revolutionary career upon which the party was entering.”

After his return from Europe Mr. Grimes lived quietly at Burlington until his sudden death, from heart disease, February 7, 1872.

9. — *Chips from a German Workshop.* Volume IV. *Essays chiefly on the Science of Language.* By F. MAX MÜLLER, M. A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

THE fourth volume of “Chips from a German Workshop” will be found inferior in interest to none of its predecessors, and, owing to the diversity of the subjects discussed, will perhaps attract even more general attention than any of them. Although most of the articles have been printed before, they are now for the first time brought to—